

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /026 W

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R 011143Z FEB 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 359

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 0610

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: DRAFT STATEMENT FOR FEBRUARY 7 NAC

1. WE TRANSMIT BELOW OUR DRAFT OF A STATEMENT FOR USE BY AMBASSADOR SHERER AT FEBRUARY 7 NAC MEETING WITH CSCE DELEGATION HEADS. WE ASSUME THAT, IN CONTRAST TO LAST NAC CONSULTATION, DEPARTMENT DOES NOT REPEAT NOT WISH TO ADVANCE ANY NEW INITIATIVES OR FRESH APPROACHES WITH RESPECT TO CSCE TO NATO ALLIES AT THIS TIME. THUS OUR DRAFT DOES NOT GO INTO THE SUBSTANCE OF CSCE ISSUES IN DEPTH ON THIS OCCASION BUT DWELLS ON THE GENERAL SITUATION, PARTICULARLY SOVIET ATTITUDES, MORE THAN STATEMENTS OF THIS KIND HAVE DONE IN THE PAST. WE REALIZE THAT THE STATEMENT IS THUS LESS SUBSTANTIVE THAN OEARLIER ONES,BUT ASSUE THIS CONFIRMS WITH DEPT'S PREFERENCES.

2. BEGIN TEXT: MR. CHAIRMAN: ONCE AGAIN THOSE OF US WHO HAVE COME FROM GENEVA TO JOIN THE COUNCIL IN THIS DISCUSSION CAN BE GRATEFUL FOR THE INTEREST AND THE UNDERSTANDING WHICH YOU AND THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES HERE HAVE SHOWN FOR THE CONDUCT OF NEGOTIATIONS AT THE CSCE.

3. I THINK IT IS FAIR TO SAY THAT THE PROGRESS OF THE CSCE NEGOTIATIONS THEMSELVES HAS BEEN LARGELY OVER-  
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SHADOWED IN RECENT WEEKS BY DEVELOPMENTS IN MOSCOW. THE

UNCERTAINTY OVER THE PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL HEALTH OF SECRETARY GENERAL BREZHNEV, AND THE SOVIET RENUNCIATION OF THE 1972 US-SOVIET TRADE AGREEMENT HAVE STIMULATED SPECULATION AS TO THE CURRENT SOVIET COMMITMENT TO DETENTE IN GENERAL AND CSCE IN PARTICULAR.

4. WE ASSUME THAT THE SOVIET DECISION ON THE TRADE AGREEMENT WAS RELATED TO ITS PARTICULAR CIRCUMSTANCES, AND DOES NOT MEAN THE SOVIETS ARE ANY LESS INTERESTED THAN THEY WERE BEFORE IN THE OVERALL PROGRESS OF DETENTE. DOUBT OVER BREZHNEV'S STATUS POSES A BROADER PROBLEM, BUT ON BALANCE WE HAVE CONCLUDED THAT, EVEN IF THE SECRETARY GENERAL' HEALTH OR POLITICAL LEADERSHIP WERE TO FALTER, COLLECTIVE SOVIET INTEREST IN A SUCCESSFUL CSCE WOULD STILL CONTINUE.

5. LIKE OTHER DELEGATIONS, WE HAVE BEEN OBSERVING SOVIET BEHAVIOR IN GENEVA CLOSELY SINCE THE RESUMPTION OF CONFERENCE WORK, IN ORDER TO DRAW OUR OWN CONCLUSIONS AS TO HOW THEY NOW INTEND TO PROCEED. OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT THE SOVIETS ARE DEFINITELY INTERESTED IN CONVEYING THE IMPRESSION THAT THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD CSCE HAS NOT CHANGED, ALTHOUGH THEY APPEAR TO BE MORE RELAXED ABOUT PUSHING STAGE II TO A RAPID CONCLUSION. IN THEIR CONTACTS WITH US THEY HAVE STATED EXPLICITLY THAT THE RENUNCIATION OF THE TRADE AGREEMENT WILL HAVE NO EFFECT ON THEIR COMMITMENT TO CSCE. THEY HAVE ALSO ALLUDED TO THE FACT THAT THE CONFERENCE WAS THE INITIATIVE OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY AND GOVERNMENT, AND NOT OF ONE MAN ALONE. THIS IS APPARENTLY THE LINE THEY HAVE FOLLOWED WITH ALL DELEGATIONS.

6. IN THIS SITUATION, THE OVERALL US ATTITUDE TOWARD THE CONFERENCE REMAINS AS EXPRESSED IN THE VLADIVOSTOK COMMUNIQUE. WE ARE STILL INTERESTED IN MOVING AHEAD IN A BUSINESSLIKE WAY TOWARD THE CONCLUSION OF STAGE II, ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT CONFERENCE RESULTS WILL PERMIT HOLDING STAGE III AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL. WE BELIEVE IT IS POSSIBLE TO PROCEED IN THIS SENSE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO ESSENTIAL WESTERN INTERESTS.  
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7. AT THE SAME TIME, IT HAS BEEN DISAPPOINTING THAT THE SOVIETS APPARENTLY RETURNED TO GENEVA WITH NO NEW FLEXIBILITY IN THEIR POSITIONS. WHILE THEY TALK ABOUT TIME BEING "PRECIOUS" THEY OFFER NO CONCESSIONS TO MAKE ACCELERATION ON THE CONFERENCE POSSIBLE. THIS IS MOST EVIDENT IN THE MILITARY AREA, WHERE PRAVDA AND AMBASSADOR MENDELEVICH HAVE BLAMED THE WEST FOR HOLDING UP

PROGRESS BY MAKING OVER-AMBITIOUS PROPOSALS, AND IN THE THIRD BASKET, WHERE THE SOVIETS ARE NOW SAYING THAT VIRTUALLY EVERYTHING HAS BEEN SETTLED, AND ARE IDENTIFYING CERTAIN PENDING WESTERN PROPOSALS AS TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE IN ANY FORM.

8. WE CERTAINLY SHOULD CONTINUE TO OBSERVE SOVIET TACTICS CAREFULLY, AND TO REMAIN ALERT TO THE BROADER IMPLICATIONS OF SOVIET ACTIONS IN CSCE.

9. HAVING SAID THIS, I WOULD LIKE TO ADD THAT WE WERE MOST INTERESTED TO RECEIVE THE REPORT OF POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE NINE. WE GENERALLY AGREED WITH THAT REPORT, WHICH SUMMARIZES THE PRESENT SITUATION IN CSCE VERY WELL, AND HAVE VERY LITTLE TO ADD TO IT. I WILL THEREFORE TOUCH ON ONLY ONE OR TWO SPECIFIC ISSUES OF CURRENT INTEREST.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 360

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 0610

EXDIS

10. WITH REGARD TO THE FIRST ISSUE MENTIONED IN THE NINE'S REPORT, PEACEFUL CHANGE OF FRONTIERS, (SUGGEST DEPT INCLUDE HERE WHATEVER IT WISHES SAID ON THE CURRENT STATUS OF THIS ISSUE).

11. ON MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY, WE SHARE THE APPREHENSIONS EXPRESSED IN THE NINE'S PAPER. WE INTERPRET THAT PAPER AS SUGGESTING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LINKAGE BETWEEN PROGRESS ON THE PRINCIPLES AND PROGRESS

ON CBMS. WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN HEARING MORE ABOUT THE NINE'S VIEWS ON THIS POINT, EITHER HERE OR IN THE NATO CAUCUS IN GENEVA. WHILE IT IS OBVIOUSLY AN UNDERSIRABLE SITUATION, WE SUSPECT THERE IS LITTLE CHANCE THAT THE SOVIETS WILL MOVE FROM THEIR PRESENT POSITION UNTIL THEY FEEL THAT THE CONCLUSION OF STAGE II IS IMMINENT.

12. I HAVE VERY FEW COMMENTS TO MAKE ON BASKET III. WE ARE VERY APPRECIATIVE OF THE UNDERSTANDING WHICH THE NATO CAUCUS IN GENEVA HAS SHOWN FOR THE LEGAL PROBLEMS POSED FOR US BY CERTAIN SPECIFIC PHRASES IN THE TEXTS WHICH HAVE BEEN AGREED THUS FAR. WE WILL BE TRYING TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THESE DIFFICULTIES WHICH WILL BE LEAST DISRUPTIVE TO ALLIED OBJECTIVES IN BASKET III AND THE CONFERENCE AS A WHOLE.

13. WITH REGARD TO THE MEDITERRANEAN ASPECTS OF CSCE,  
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WE FOUND THE CONSULTATIONS WE HAD IN GENEVA ON THIS SUBJECT MOST USEFUL. AS THIS SITUATION DEVELOPS, WE HOPE WE CAN CONTINUE TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON TACTICS AND SUBSTANCE.

14. AS FOR FOLLOW-UP, PERHAPS I SHOULD STATE HERE AGAIN THAT OUR SUBSTANTIVE VIEW OF FOLLOW-UP HAS NOT CHANGED. IN VIEW OF THE NEGOTIATING SITUATION IN GENEVA, HOWEVER, WE HAVE BEEN INTERESTED TO KNOW WHAT, IF ANY, COMPROMISE MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE NATO GROUP AT THE END. HERE AGAIN, OUR RECENT CONSULTATIONS IN GENEVA HAVE BEEN MOST USEFUL TO US INFORMING OUR OWN VIEWS ON THE FURTHER COURSE OF DISCUSSION ON THIS SUBJECT.

15. IN ALL OF THESE AREAS, AS WELL AS THE MORE DETAILED ISSUES WITH WHICH WE HAVE TO DEAL IN CSCE, WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT CLOSE ALLIED CONSULTATIONS AND A UNITED WESTERN FRONT WILL BE THE KEY TO ACHIEVING OUR OBJECTIVES DURING THE REMAINDER OF STAGE II. WE, FOR OUR PART, WILL TRY TO MAKE THIS CONSULTATION PROCESS AS MEANINGFUL AND AS FRUITFUL AS POSSIBLE. DALE

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